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ABSTRACT

How might comparatists view and image the world as a visual dialogue? How have representations of visual culture in comparative education discourse changed since the 1960s? This paper identifies, types, and maps the scopic regimes of modernity (that is, the technical and critical rationalist, and the hermeneutical constructivist) and postmodernity (that is, the deconstructive perspectivist) found in the field's three leading journals. Using the two axes of mimetic-heuristic and differentiation-dedifferentation, the perspectivist map opens space to all ways of seeing and representing information. It offers knowledge workers a useful new visual aesthetic based not on degrees of progress in techniques of transmission or modeling, but on a perspectivist paradigm of cultural dedifferentiation that is open to technical, cognitive, and cultural ways of seeing--that is, to the growing intellectual and visual complexity of our time. Fifteen figures and 24 endnotes are included. (LMI)

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THE PERSPECTIVIST TURN IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT: How might we as comparatists view and image the world as a visual dialogue? How have representations of visual culture in comparative education discourse changed since the 1960s? This paper identifies, types, and maps the scopic regimes of modernity (i.e., the technical and critical rationalist, and the hermeneutical constructivist) and postmodernity (i.e., the deconstructive perspectivist) found in the field's three leading journals. Using the two axes of 1) mimetic-heuristic and 2) differentiation - dedifferentiation, the perspectivist map created here opens space to all ways of seeing and representing information. It offers knowledge workers a useful new visual aesthetics based not on degrees of progress in techniques of transmission or modeling, but on a perspectivist paradigm of cultural dedifferentiation that is open to technical, cognitive, and cultural ways of seeing--i.e., to the growing intellectual and visual complexity of our time.

The Perspectivist Turn in Comparative Education

> It would be fascinating to map out the political implications of scopic regimes, but it can't be done too reductively. The perspectivalist regime is not necessarily complicitous only with oppressive political practices. Under certain circumstances it may be emancipatory; it really depends on how it is used.[1]

Introduction

In this paper, I respond to the social historian Martin Jay and to his imaginative proposal to "map . . . scopic regimes." While, to my knowledge, Jay has yet to undertake this ambitious task, it does make sense here in light of recent work on social cartographic methods carried out at the University of Pittsburgh since about 1992. At that time, I helped to initiate this project with a theory-mapping paper presented at the 8th World Congress of Comparative Education Societies in Prague. That study interrogated some sixty exemplary comparative education texts, and mapped the theoretical perspectives discovered onto a two dimensional field. My intent was to demonstrate how such a "social cartography," or heuristic device, might serve to identify and visualize difference within and between disputatious intellectual communities in a way that would open space for all perspectives in the debate. Could such a perspectivist turn help to address the global crisis in education today, a crisis that might be best understood as the inability of modern vision and schooling to encompass complex postmodern reality?

This "map," included as Figure 12 below, demonstrates how postmodern figuration in the form of perceptual fields offers the eye a continuous and asymmetrical terrain of unhindered mobility, as first proposed in Merleau-Ponty's work on the phenomenology of perception. Language being more bound than mobile does not have this unhindered mobility. Lyotard has proposed that postmodern sensibility is primarily visual and breaks this colonization of the unconscious by verbal discourse. Instead, it allows a new visual aesthetics based on a paradigm of cultural dedifferentiation.[2] Does this view of figural aesthetics free the image from the dictates of narrative meaning and rule-bound formalisms that have predominated under modernity's sway? How might an examination of changes in the visual culture of our field before and after the postmodern turn increase our understanding of the potentials of social mapping as a kind of cognitive art or play of figuration? Does this visual turn in representing multiple competing realities result in, as claimed, a new distinct mode of visual representation where space may be used to represent a dispersion that offers, when *combined* with discourse analysis, possibilities for new knowledge?

In pursuit of some at least provisional answers, I have selected fourteen examples of visual culture in comparative education discourse--writ large--since the 1960's. Sources examined are the *Comparative Education Review*, *Comparative Education*, *Compare*, and others. Using phenomenological and visual analysis of these sources, four scopic regimes, or visual subcultures, are identified and presented in Figure 1.

The paper is organized in three parts. Part one illustrates how the three scopic regimes of modernity, i.e., the technical rationalist (TR), the critical rationalist (CR) and the hermeneutical constructivist (HC) each have their own favored rhetoric and forms of representation, as well as utilities and limitations. Part two briefly describes how the social cartography project at Pitt has sought to elaborate and implement a new social mapping rational and methodology (See Appendix). Part two presents a personal narrative of my attempt to contribute to the liberation of the discursive field so that the task of imagining alternatives can be commenced (or perceived by researchers in a new light) in those spaces where the production of scholarly and expert knowledge for theoretical and development purposes continues to take place. This section presents general principles for a reflexive, or non-innocent, social cartography project elaborated to remap the space of perspectives in comparative education discourse using what might be called a scopic regime of postmodernity.

In part three, I note some possible implications of this study and the social cartography project for current theoretical debates, representational practice, and new opportunities to reposition the field vis-a-vis the human sciences in the coming millennium. Examples of how a postmodern view of social cartography might help to construct new ways of representing and seeing are assessed. My goal here is to suggest something of the utility of heuristic social maps as new ways to both situate and open representational practice. But before the "picture show" begins, I will situate myself as the mapper in this cartographic work with three quotes. The first is from the Australian poet Judith Wright:

> All things I focus in the crystal of my sense. I give them breath and life and set them free in the dance.[3]

The second is from the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche:

> There is only a perspective seeing, only a perspective `knowing,' the more affects we allow to speak about a thing, the more eyes, various eyes we are able to use for the same thing, the more complete will be our `concept' of the thing, our `objectivity.'[4]

The third is from the Colombian anthropologist Arturo Escobar:

> Regimes of discourse and representation can be analyzed as places of encounter where identities are constructed . . . where violence is originated, symbolized, and managed. Charting regimes of representation . . . attempts to draw the 'cartographies' or maps of knowledge and power . . . and of struggle.[5]

These three extracts will help me share with the reader my view on what might be called "the crisis of representation" in our field, and in the human sciences. The first quote celebrates an embodied view of knowledge construction. Wright and I align ourselves with those who oppose excessive reliance on Cartesian rationality and objectivity espoused in the name of Enlightenment. We see the proper end of human learning not in a reconciliation of opposing principles, but in the play of opposites and in their interpretation. It is for us in this 'play of opposites' that life finds its source of energy.

The quote from Nietzsche (1887) flags my concerns to elaborate a wide-visioned or perspectivist way of seeing and knowing capable of scoping difference, and an embodied social constructivist methodology as, perhaps, most suitable for comparative research today.

In Escobar's quote, I share his concern to situate and visualize knowledge construction and representation efforts, to question and critically engage all discourse, including my own, and show the connections between power and who is allowed to speak and to represent reality. While this set of positions would seem to favor notions of embodied, situated, and polyvocal knowledge, ideas that some have identified with a postmodern sensibility, I see my point of view also coinciding with a critical pragmatic, or critical realist perspective, that seeks to understand practice and outcomes by showing connections between choices of forms of representation and positions in the debate.

Part One Visual Representations in Modernity

In this section, I focus on the conventions and codes that underly nonlinguistic symbol systems, what Nelson Goodman has called "languages of art." I begin to explore the gap between the seeable and the sayable, and question Mitchell's contention that the human sciences are presently undergoing a "pictorial turn" where society can be represented as *both* verbal and visual text. Mitchell claims this turn is moving us beyond

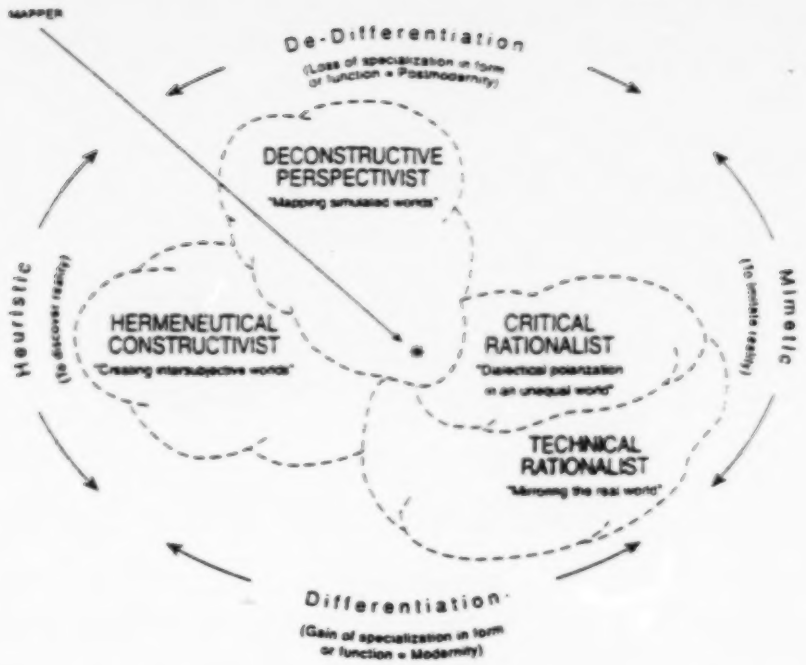

Figure 1. Scopic Regimes of Modernity and Postmodernity in Comparative Education Discourse.

Classification of Vertical and Horizontal Relationships in School Systems

Level	Age	Range
IV	(23)	STAGE 6 Postgraduate Study
III	(21/22)	STAGE 5 *Examples* Higher Stage of Univers. Study, Teacher Training Professional Schools
	(18/19)	STAGE 4 *Examples* Lower Stage of Univers. Study, Teacher Training Advanced Technical Schools Undergraduate Colleges
II	(14/15)	STAGE 3 *Examples* Upper Section of High Schools, Grammar Schools, Gymn., Teacher Training Full-time and part-time Vocat. Schools
	(10/11)	STAGE 2 *Examples* Lower Section of High Schools, Grammar Schools Gymnasium Upper Section of Elementary Schools Intermediate Schools
I	(5/6/7)	STAGE 1 *Examples* Primary Schools
↑ Compulsory School begins		Pre-School Education *Examples* Nursery and Kindergarten

Figure 2. Classification of Vertical and Horizontal Relationships in School Systems. F. Hilker in B. Holmes and S. B. Robinsohn, *Relevant Data in Comparative Education* (Geneva: IBE, 1963), p. 57.

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> . . . naive mimeses, copy or correspondence theories of representation: it is rather a postlinguistic, postsemiotic rediscovery of the picture as a complex interplay between visuality, apparatus, institutions, discourse, bodies, and figurality.[6]

The picture now becomes a kind of model or figure for "other things (including figuration itself) . . . an unsolved problem" (p. 13). Attention to this "problem" may help make comparative educators more aware of their near hegemonic view of the image as a figure of representational transparency and realism.

How then may the scopic regimes of modernity and postmodernity uncovered (i.e., the TR, CR, HC, and DP) be described and compared? To this end I create in Figure 1 a field of four visual cultures laid out using the dimensions of mimetic-heuristic and differentiation-dedifferentiation. In the lower half of the field are the three scopic regimes using modern sensibility. The upper field, in contrast, provides space for a deconstructive perspectivist (DP), or a postmodern view of representation as a cartography of ideas, as multiple mappings of "simulated worlds." This fourth scopic subculture is examined in Part Three.

In comparative education discourse, the technical rationalist figuration of educational reality has dominated since at least the 1960s, easily surviving some competition with critical rationalist (CR) and hermeneutical constructionist (HC) forms during the 1970s and 1980s, and with postmodern cartography after 1992.

Defining characteristics of the TR tradition can be seen in Figures 2-5 below. It most often displays a mimetic representation of reality where the observer is assumed to be independent of the phenomena observed. According to Jay, the TR view (what he calls "Cartesian Perspectivism") favors a geometricalized, rationalized, essentially intellectual concept of space. It is characteristically much concerned with heirarchy, proportion, and analogical resemblances. It seeks--by presenting an abstract and quantitatively conceptualized space--to de-eroticize the visual order, to foster de-narrativization, de-textualization and de-contextualization.[7] It is gendered male. Richard Rorty sees this scopic regime attempting "to mirror nature,"[8] to insist on the literalty of realism. Without the observer "in the picture," realism claims a representation by resemblance that objectively portrays how things are in a material world. Figure 2 for example, patterns spatial relationships into vertical and horizontal lines delineating levels and stages. It presents a matrix representing a reality of objective, universal and progressive systemic differentiation. Figure 3 expands this structural-functional logic to visually frame how levels of structural

Scalogram of Educational Differentiation

C.R. = 0·95
C.S. = 0·79

	Ministry, etc.	Inspectorate	Curriculum agency	Secondary vocational school	Secondary industrial school	University	Pedagog. (mag. secondary teachers	Secondary agricultural school	Pre-primary school	Special education class	Special education school	Research inst. phys-bio. sci.	Research inst. soc. sci.	Research inst. agriculture	Univ. faculties bio., chem., phys	Research inst. economics	Spec. secondary indust. school	Univ. faculties soc. or meth.
1. Nepal	X	X	X	O	O	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
2. Laos	X	X	X	X	O	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
3. Cambodia	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
3. Burma	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
4. Mongolian People's Republic	X	O	O	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
4. Afghanistan	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
5. Malaya	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
5. Ceylon	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
5. Thailand	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
6. S. Korea	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
7. Philippines	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
8. Panama	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
9. N. Korea	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
9. Indonesia	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
9. China (Mainland)	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
10. India	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
10. China (Taiwan)	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
10. Japan	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

Figure 3. Scalogram of Educational Differentiation. D. Adams and J. P. Farrell, "Social Differentiation and Educational Differentiation." *Comparative Education*, 5 (1969), p. 255.

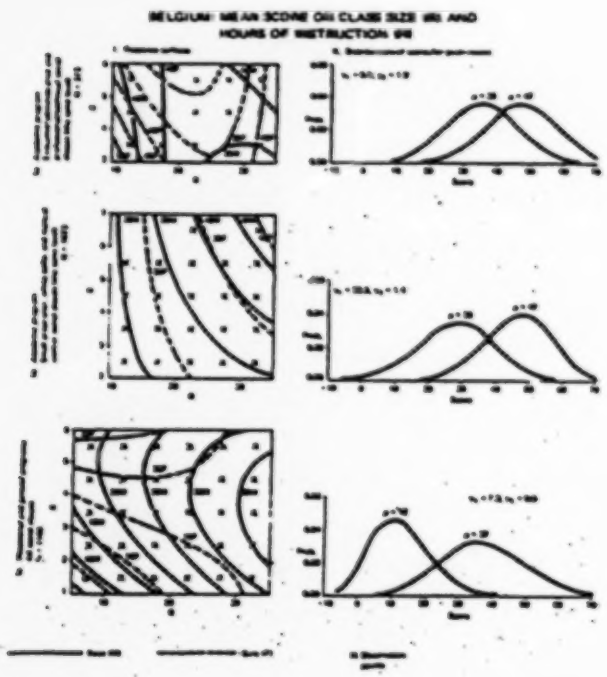

Figure 4. Belgium: Mean Score on Class Size (R) and Hours of Instruction (H). J. Lindsey, "A Reanalysis of Class Size and Achievement in the I.E.A. Mathematics Study," *Comparative Education Review*, 18, no. 2 (1974), p. 317.

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differentiation correlate with levels of educational "specialization in form and function." The implication is that modernity and progress closely track the importation of western educational ideas and forms. Turned on its left side, the figure presents a stair-like Parsonian progression from the traditional (Nepal) to the modern (Japan) and a graphic picture of modernization theory.

Figure 4 shifts the eye from the differentiation to the mimetic node, or pole, with a mathematical configuration of reality at the classroom, not the system level. This move to statistical modeling gained considerable impetus during the decade or so after 1974 witnessed widespread efforts to make comparative education "more scientific" and "rigorous" with notions of "consensus" from Parsonian sociology, of "central tendency" from statistics, and of "hypothesis testing" from experimental design.

In Figure 5, Clark Kerr (earlier President of the University of California, Berkeley) provides a variety of interesting iconic representations that model fourteen varieties of educational systems. These allow for somewhat greater variation of configuration than found in, for example, Figures 2 and 3. Figure 5 presents pure geometric forms as best representing the complex reality of situated variations in national higher education systems and policies around the world, and presents a strong TR logocentric and decontextualized style.

With the polarized figure presented in Figure 6, the first example of a critical rationalist visual subculture appeared in 1971. This scopic regime has much in common with TR style representations--i.e., it is realist, it is usually framed with vertical and horizontal lines, it sees the world using assumptions of universal stories (i.e., progress) and universal categories (i.e., social systems). It is also materialist (historical materialist, not scientific materialist), logocentric, (albeit with ideology dominant), and configured in levels. It is suggestive of Enlightenment meliorism and the possibility of human progress through historical and developmental stages.

The critical rationalist figuration differs significantly from the TR view, however, with a proclivity to visually polarize the space of social groups. It represents a commitment to dialectical analysis, and presents a visualization of structured power relations. Where the TR view assumes social consensus and accepts hierarchy for greater efficiency in a real world, the CR view problematizes that

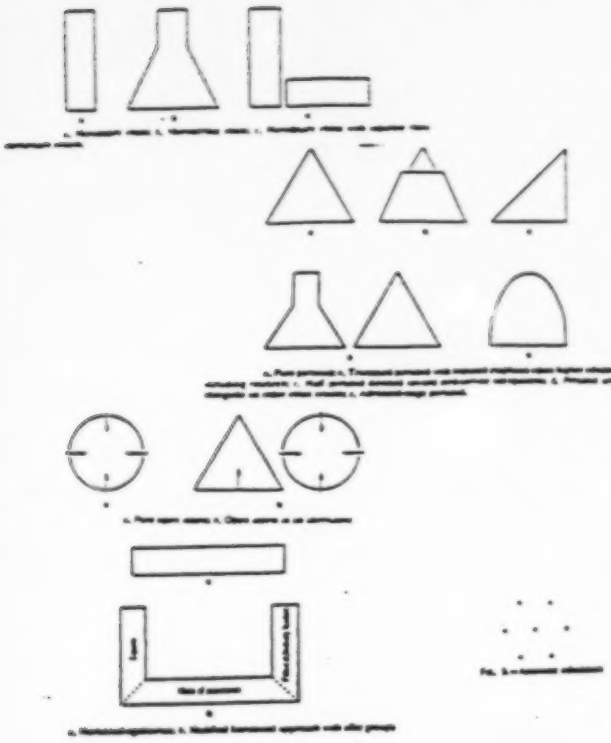

Figure 5. Iconic Representations of Educational Systems. C. Kerr, "Five Strategies for Education and Their Major Variants", *Comparative Education Review*, 23, no. 2 (1979), pp. 173-178.

Distribution of Income by Major Social Groups in 1963

Social groups (approximations)	% of total population	% of total national income received
Blanco—Large landowners, industrialists, capitalists, some professionals	0.1	19.9
Mestizo—Bureaucrats, businessmen, professionals and subprofessionals, employees, skilled workers, military officers	20.4	53.0
Cholo—Unskilled workers, peddlers, domestic, drivers, cholos, enlisted men	22.8	14.2
Indians—Mountain-dwelling farmers, herders, hacienda laborers, army draftees	56.7	12.9
	100.0	100.0

Peruvian Socio-cultural and Educational Stratification

	General Attributes					
Sub-culture	Location in social hierarchy	Location	Language spoken	Occupation	Schools usually attended	Usual length of schooling
Blanco	Upper	Urban (Lima and abroad)	Spanish and other European	Owners	Elite private schools (Lima and abroad)	University-level study in Lima and abroad
	Entrance highly restricted using socio-economic, cultural, and genetic criteria					
Mestizo	Middle (lower-middle through upper-middle)	Urban (provincial and Lima)	Mostly Spanish	Managers, professionals, businessmen, skilled workers	Lower private schools (some public schools in larger cities)	High school and study at university level (national schools in Lima, or in provincial cities)
	Access open but restricted and examined using cultural criteria					
Cholo	Lower (lower-lower through upper-lower)	Urban rural (migratory)	Indigenous (Quechua or Aymara) and Spanish	Unskilled workers, menial workers, soldiers	Public schools	Primary (and some secondary in larger cities)
	Social mobility blocked; acculturation encouraged and rewarded in urban settings, restricted in rural					
Indian	Marginal	Rural	Indigenous (Quechua or Aymara; some some Spanish)	Agricultural laborers, small farmers, herders	Nuclear—Indian schools of the sierra; Bilingual—jungle schools	Several years of primary, or unschooled

Figure 6. Peruvian Socio-cultural and Educational Stratification. R.G. Paulston, *Society Schools, and Progress in Peru* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1971), pp. 92 & 94.

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hierarchy with notions of correspondence, reproduction, and conflict. It seeks to overturn what it sees as oppressive structures in favor of more equalitarian structures.[9] Social relations most often are configured as a negative correspondence, as in Figure 6, between social status and educational provision and outcomes. This negative dialectic drives the visual reality of CR presentation, as in the typology of different strategies chosen to address structured educational inequality in Figure 7, and in the oppressive "world of politics, power and people" mapped in Figure 8.

With a shift from the critical rational towards the hermeneutical way of seeing, our eye moves to the left, and a bit up on the map in Figure 1. Work in the hermeneutical constructivist tradition draws upon the humanities and seeks to pattern the process of intersubjective world-making. It is holistic and open to narrative, art and indeterminacy. It prizes thick description, interpretation and understanding. And while demanding a good (i.e., insightful) story, it refuses to be fixed or boxed by a technical point of view. Most of all, the HC view stoutly defends the centrality of desire, and the possibility for joy. It rejects the notion of Cartesian detachment where the observer is claimed to be free of all involvement in that which is represented. Instead, it offers an embodied world view where situated stories and images are believed to possess the power to change minds and bodies, where metaphor as transference is seen to be the last magic on earth.

In Figure 9, for example, the world of children's storymaking is visualized as a multicontextual and interconnected web of possible relations, contacts, and influences. This figure suggests the hum and buzz of human experience. Here reality is not mimed or mirrored but is seen as emergent and relational. It is constructed *in situ* as an ongoing process centered in the actor who is free to move without logocentric determinants or frozen spatial choices.[10]

But as Figure 8 demonstrates, this often romantic world of HC world-making can also be manipulated by power to produce self-serving Utopias that exist nowhere. Figure 10 patterns world-making in the service of ideology and serves as a warning that any scopic regime--no matter how well intentioned--can serve propagandistic ends. To quote Gottlieb regarding her Figure 9:

> The "Terra Incognita" of the professoriate was invented as much as discovered through a scientific instrument (i.e. the International questionnaire). Setting out to discover the professoriate worldwide entailed objectification of the real spaces professors occupy in their national context, much like the complex operation of a map, the art of inscribing

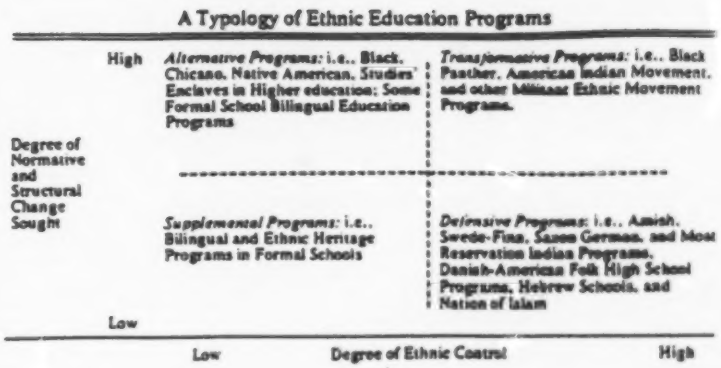
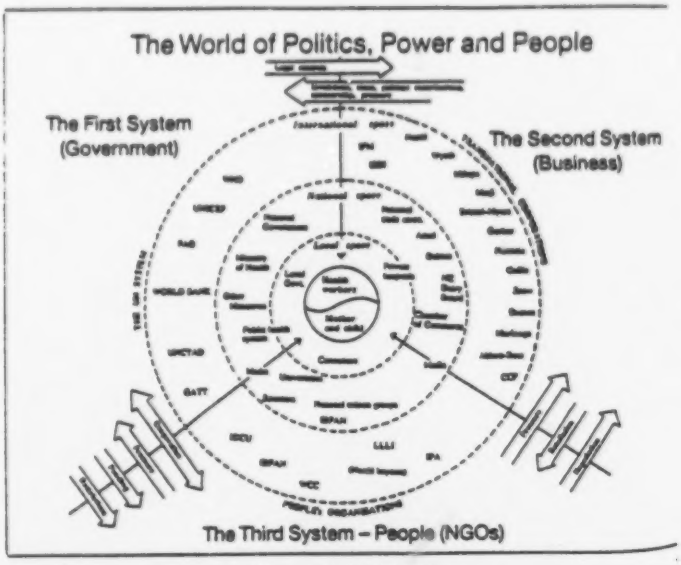

A Typology of Ethnic Education Programs
High
Low
Degree of Normative and Structural Change Sought
Alternative Programs: i.e., Black, Chicano, Native American, Studies' Enclaves in Higher education; Some Formal School Bilingual Education Programs
Transformative Programs: i.e., Black Panther, American Indian Movement, and other Militant Ethnic Movement Programs.
Supplemental Programs: i.e., Bilingual and Ethnic Heritage Programs in Formal Schools
Defensive Programs: i.e., Amish, Swede-Finn, Saxon Germans, and Most Reservation Indian Programs, Danish-American Folk High School Programs, Hebrew Schools, and Nation of Islam
Low
Degree of Ethnic Control
High

Figure 7. A Typology of Ethnic Education Programs, R.G. Paulston, "Separate Education as an Ethnic Survival Strategy," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (1977), p.186.


The World of Politics, Power and People
The First System (Government)
The Second System (Business)
The Third System – People (NGOs)

Interaction between the three systems in the world of IBFAN politics

Annelies Allain has written this article in response to a request from DEVELOPMENT DIALOGUE *to give a personal account of her experiences during the past decade of the struggles of the International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN) in different international fora, highlighting the arduous task of building an international network, its victories and defeats, joys and frustrations, and its hopes and horrors for the future.*

'My contribution', Annelies Allain wrote when sending us her article, 'is just that: an account with a personal touch of a "third system" organizer. It does not attempt to explain the issue or reflect on the legal aspects of Code implementation. It recalls the ongoing struggle of people against the inequities of powerful transnationals' operations and heavy bureaucracies.

FIGURE 8 Interaction Between the Three Systems in The World of IBFAN Politics. A. Allain, *Development Dialogue*, 2 (1989), p. 9.

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> and tying together places in a surface through networks of names and signs. By projecting the results of the International Survey onto a flat analogic model of the world, *The Chronicle of Higher Education* constructs the professoriate as a kind of "Leibniz's God" present everywhere. In contrast with reporting the results narratively, picturing them on a world map universalizes the International Survey. In other words, the utopic operation of the International Survey manifests itself in the relationship between the surveyor's gaze and the representation of this reality (i.e. the results collected by the survey). This map is nothing less than the visual Utopia of the professoriate (p. 264).

Today, we are challenged to map out a new poststructural order of things--its immanent logic and ironic form. In a time of pervasive deconstruction when electronic media generate hyperreal models seemingly without origin or reality, the territory may no longer precede the map. Now it may be the map that engenders the territory. With the world of human culture constituted through the work of signifying practices, our task today is to de-code and pattern this new reality of information networks and electronic communication without naive essentialism or undue nostalgia for the world we have lost. How one comparative educator has attempted to respond to this need to remap the field of comparative education intertextually is presented in the following section.

Part Two The Invention of A Social Cartography? A Personal Narrative/Journey

I went to the University of British Columbia (UBC) in Vancouver as a visiting professor in the summer of 1991 with the hope that a trip to that "frontier" might provoke some new ideas about representing knowledge and visualizing difference. Given the collapse of the cold war with its polarizing stories, and the emergence of provocative new ways of seeing in poststructuralist, postmodern feminist and postcolonial studies, the time seemed alive with opportunities to rethink our world, to sail off our brutal old ideological maps. UBC is situated in a setting of vast panoramas of sea, forest, city and sky. I had ample time to converse, to read and discover. Texts by the postmodern geographers, related studies by Bourdieu and the French poststructuralists,[11] and some illuminating feminist cartographers[12] all helped me to understand better possibilities to remap my mind and my field. I also reflected on the failure of my conference paper of the year before, "Comparing Ways of Knowing across Inquiry Communities," to specify exactly how contradictory ideas, views of reality, and theory debates might be represented and compared in a more open manner.

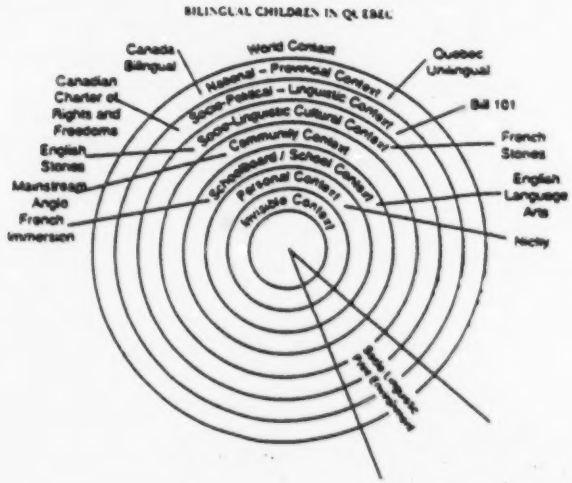

Figure 9. The Nested Contexts of Children's Story Making. M. Maguire, "Cultural Stances Informing Storytelling Among Bilingual Children in Quebec." *Comparative Education Review* 38, no. 1 (1994), p. 121.

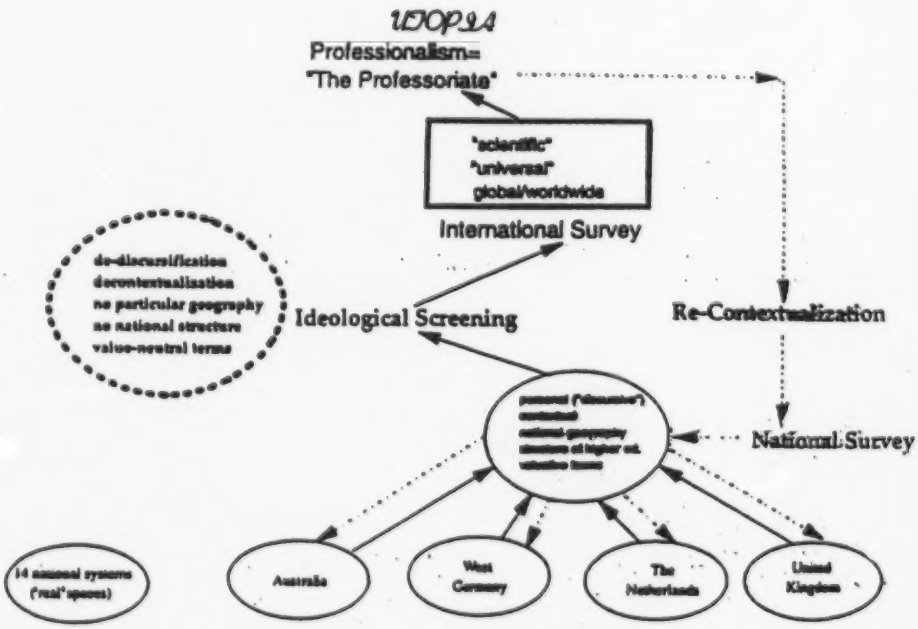

Figure 10. Construction of the Professoriate as the Utopia of Worldwide Professionalism. E. Gottlieb, "Mapping the Utopia of Professionalism" in R.G. Paulston, ed. *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change* (New York: Garland, 1996), p. 263.

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On returning to the University of Pittsburgh that Fall, I had begun to understand something of how a spatial turn in comparative studies would focus less on formal theory and competing truth claims and more on how contingent knowledge may be seen as embodied, locally constructed and visually represented as oppositional yet complimentary positionings in shifting fields. As Bateson points out, maps not only emphasize spatial relations, they also help to recognize and pattern difference.[13] By naming and classifying, maps help us "know" something so we can "see" something different. The problem with getting comparativists to think more globally or locally, for example, may be that this task is difficult to map because there is nothing but difference. What a confused comparative thinker may need is patterns interspersed among the differences."[14] This view would help me both to reconceptualize comparative studies as comparative mapping and to see it as situated, provisional and contested, i.e., as Donna Harraway advocates, as an ironic non-innocent practice. With the opening up of our vision and representations to multiple perspectives, we might also better move beyond the two great modernisms of positivism and Marxism with their rigid reductionist thinking and abhorrence of the Other.

My efforts then turned to the crafting of a ground-level social cartography project with critical potential, one that would build upon and extend earlier postmodern mapping contributions in human geography, and in feminist, cultural, and postcolonialist studies. Work in this new genre uses spatial tropes and images to map intertextual fields. It shares the rejection of essentialism and scientism found in most feminist theory. It views the "ground" of our era as akin to a space of shifting sites and boundaries most credibly defined in relational terms. Where texts of modern geographers usually represent space as an innocent place of situated objects with fixed boundaries, coordinates and essences, texts of the postmodern cartographers mostly present an agonistic or contested space of continually shifting sites and boundaries perhaps best portrayed using "the transitory, temporal process of language."[15] Soja and Hooper explain this growing fascination with spatial analysis:

> We suggest that this spatialized discourse on simultaneously real and imagined geographies is an important part of a provocative and distinctly postmodern reconceptualization of spatiality that connects the social production of space to the cultural politics of difference in new and imaginative ways[16].

It would seem that the time is propitious for comparative educators to consider how a cartography of relations might help us move beyond our present Cartesian anxiety to a more open play of perspectives.[17] I believe that social cartography, with its deconstructive view of all modes of representation and with its ludic tolerance of new ideas and diverse ways of seeing, can help us make this intellectual journey. In addition to its critical and demystification utility to make visible ideas and relations that otherwise might remain hidden, social cartography will also be useful to convert increasing flows of cultural data into usable information. This will help comparativists recognize patterns and relationships in spatial contexts from the local to the global. In conceptual terms, cartographic visualization can also provide a link between what were once viewed as incommensurable epistemological paradigms or perspectives, now presented as nodes or basins within shifting intertextual fields. Perhaps Norman Davies' sensible and pragmatic advocacy puts the case for a turn to mapping multiple perspectives most succinctly:

> By complementing the findings of one partial perspective with the findings of other approaches, we can hope to create an overall picture [map] which will be fairly comprehensive and reasonably accurate, and will maintain a sense of proportion.[18]

Part Three The Emergence of a Pluralistic Social Cartography

> If modernism expresses the desire to capture a sense of wholeness, postmodernism tries to create a picture with emphasis on all the parts where nothing is left out. While avoiding conflictual dualism, it collects and combines as much as possible into a new vision. It is a heterotopia of mixed places and themes that views utopia in terms of multiplicity and difference . . . and attempts to reformulate utopian desire in explicit opposition to binary organization and totalizing models.[19]

With the advent of the social cartography project described in the preceding section, comparative education joins a variety of related efforts seeking to remap theory in global, local and personal space.[20] Figure 11 and 12, for example, map the space of theories in educational reform practice and in comparative education as heterotopic intertextual fields constructed by difference. This postmodern space accepts and reinscribes (as mininarratives) all theories, codes, language games, simulations or visual forms. Its position in Figure 1 falls within the scopic regime of deconstructive perspectivism (DP) i.e., rather close to the de-differentiation node. These two theory maps open to all claimants space for inclusion in the intellectual field and social milieu.

Figure 11. A Micro Mapping of Educational and Social Change Theories in Nicaraguan Higher Educational Reform Practice. R. G. Paulston, "Mapping Discourse in Comparative Education Texts", *Compare* 23, no. 2 (1993), p. 107.

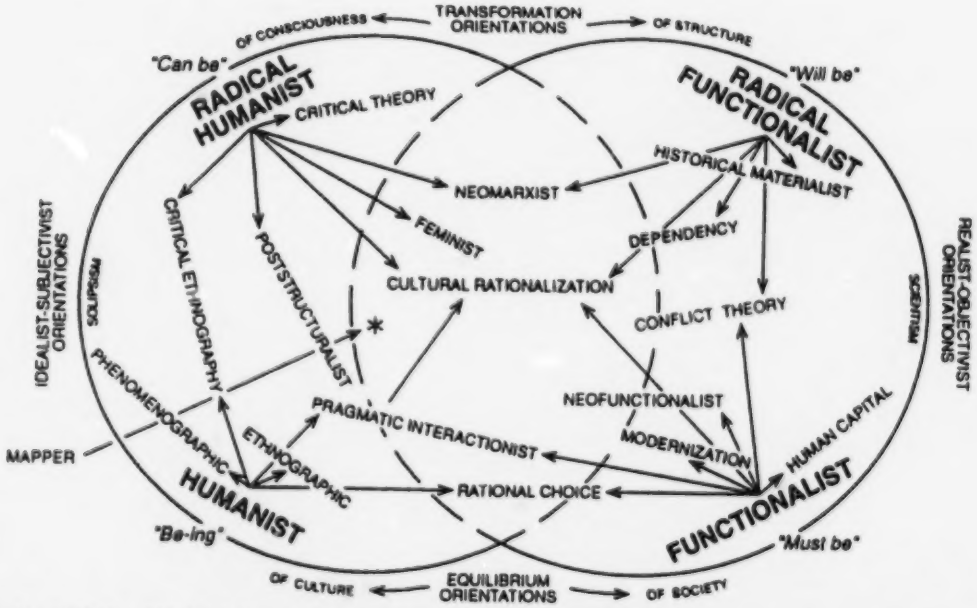

Figure12. Paulston's (1994, p. 931) "global mapping" of paradigmatic discourse and territorial disputes in sixty recent comparative education texts. This assemblage opens to all claimants space for inclusion in the intellectual field (Ringer, 1990) and social milieu. Situating the mapper in this representation suggests that ". . . by the act of attributing spirit to everything, giving every element of the landscape its own point of view, shows [the mapper] to be alive to the fact that there are other powers in the world, [that social cartography] is not a fantasy of omnipotence. It is a matter of doing your best in a difficult, hostile world . . . in which the spectator is alive to forces of a complexity we can barely grasp" (Fenton, 1996, p. 40).

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Figure 13 and 14 are, in the words of several colleagues, "a mess." Here a poststructuralist preference for seeing practices (writing) as sites constructs the field of environmental education (EE) and the book *Social Cartography* as intertextual fields, as acentered yet situated "realities" akin to Harraway's characterization of postmodern multiplicity as "a powerful infidel heteroglossia." In these rizomatic elaborations of specular relations is the acknowledged presence of a "fiduciary subject," or embodied "mapper," who as a socially articulated self is the true site of agency. Here the overlapping of discursive and physical space reveals the body as the primary site of political authentication and political action.[21] From the DP view, social mapping escapes the violence of logocentric enclosure and instead elicits an embodied discourse system or set of readings that are frequently disrupted and in need of reordering. Social cartography provides a visual means to facilitate reordering and subject reconstruction within a physical field and a system of symbolic exchange. Identity is seen to be largely discursive and produced through the interaction of verbal *and* visual texts. This "legible social body" presents a set of cultural codes that "organize the way the body is apprehended and that determine the range of socially appropriate responses."[22] Accordingly, Figure 14 represents my provisional and local structuring of "comparative education" as a constructed intertextual field, as a set or assemblage of contradictory yet complimentary cultural codes.

I have saved Figure 15 for the end because I see it as, perhaps, the best picture of how the scopic regimes of modernity and postmodernity can work together in the imbricated center of Figure 1. This figure can be seen as modern in that it is based on statistical analysis (multidimensional scaling) which maps the relative locations of special interest groups according to their joint memberships. At the same time, I view it as partly postmodern in its portrayal of the dedifferentiation/fragmentation and dispersal of a disciplinary field. It is, moreover, like all social maps open to discussion and redrawing within a tradition of rigorous, principled research. Here Rorty's advice rings true that research today is well advised to retain those parts of modernist metanarratives that continue to provide useful results.

Conclusions

And so we return to Judith Wright *et al* with some ideas and illustrations of how comparative educators and others have sought to claim their space in ongoing efforts to map the intersections of theory

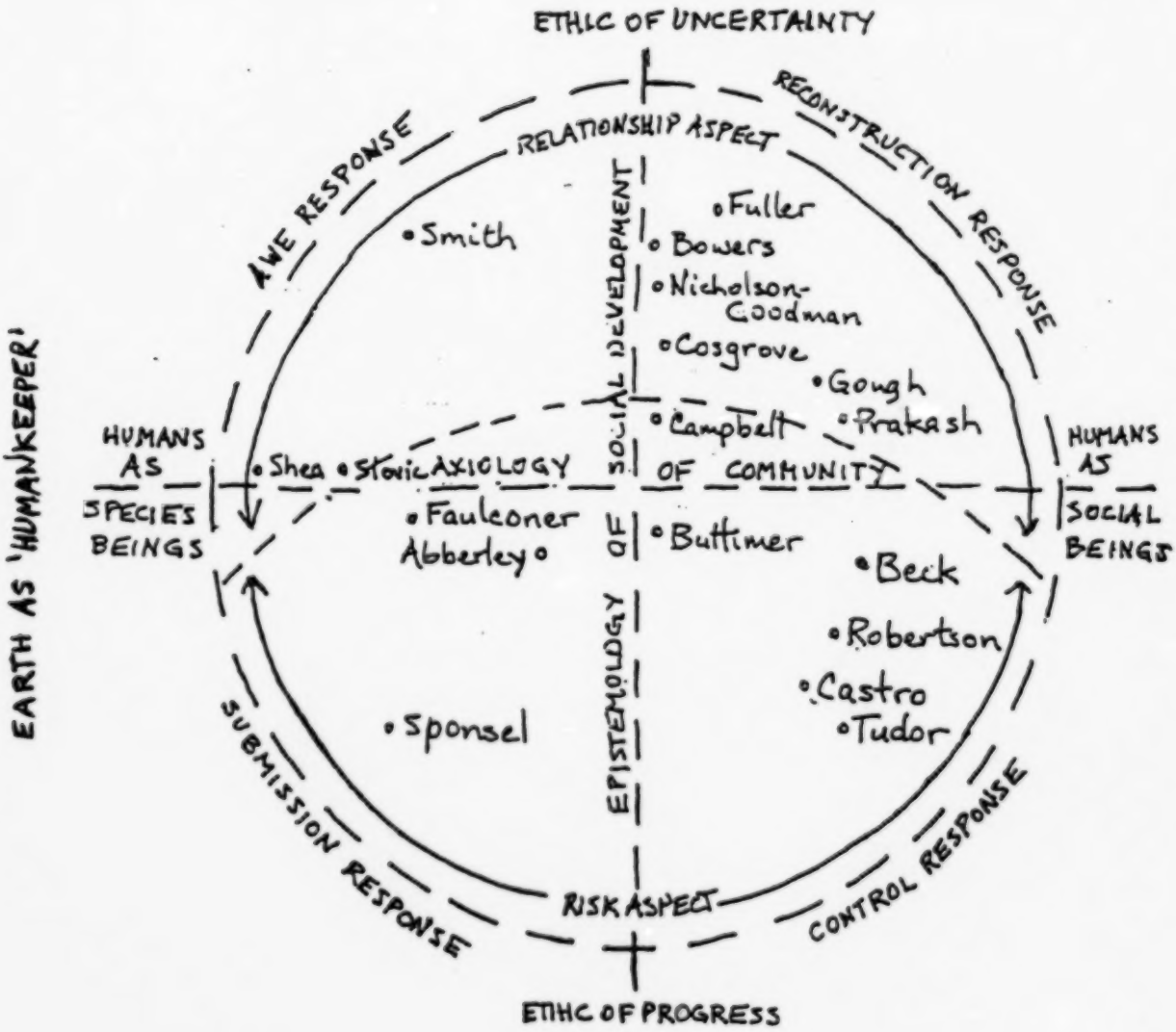

Figure 13. A heuristic mapping of seventeen perspectives found in environmental education discourse: "Each text operates as a voice in the policy dialogue, and the respective truth and value advocacies derived from the texts form the interrelations of the dialogue, and therefore of the map. Remapping may occur as other dynamics and texts command attention."

Source: Nicholson-Goodman, J. (1996), *Globalization, the New World Order & Local Imperatives: Mapping Our Way Towards a Sustainable Dialogue on Environment.* Paper presented at the Comparative & International Education Society Annual Meeting, Williamsburg, VA.

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Table 2. Summation of EE-Related Texts for Figure 2

Text	Perspective	Characteristics/Advocacies
Campbell 1988	mythic breakdown	cultural collisions, transition in human awareness led to rupture in world-, nature-related meaning/need for universal social image, true planetary mythology
Beck 1992	radicalized science	restructuration of society based on distribution of risk derives from, accentuates global trends/new social structure requires radical, democratized science
Shea 1992	convivial planetary	human rights, ecology as frameworks for social change; new world culture as synthesis/nature-based restructuration of society and meaning
Robertson 1992	world-structuration	global interdependence, global consciousness as long-standing trends, accelerated by environmentalism/need for global social theory to counteract danger of trends
Castro 1993	differential development	inherent contradictions of sustainable development in hands of developed world as plunderers/need to dismantle hierarchical stranglehold on resources, free Third World to develop
Sponsel 1987	cultural ecology	planetary transformation into disequilibrium social ordering as problem/need for nature-based social reordering of society for equilibrium
Tudor 1991	sustainable development	common global ground needed to move EE forward/ need to balance economic imperatives with environmental protection at global level
Smith 1993	resacralized nature	myth of progress as problem/need to replace with myth characterizing deep relations with nature, to reenchant, resacralize with nature-based mythology
Faulconer 1993	historical	current models of EE work against creation of truly sustainable society/need for nature-based valuation
Gough 1993	fictive narrative	EE, science education as stories that frame realities of global conditions inappropriately/need for stories which foreground kinship with nature
Fuller 1988	aesthetic	erosion of concept of immanence led to despair and despondency in human spirit/need for return to theoria, aesthetic response to nature
Cosgrove 1988	techno-poetic collaboration	nature relations as constant reworking over time of meaning/reunion of techne and poesis needed in postmodern reconstruction of global meaning
Slovic 1992	self-awareness through place-awareness	effects of place on sense of self, belonging; changes in attitude and behavior depend on awakening to awe/ need for submission to 'ancient influences'
Abberley 1993	reinhabitation	homogenization of cultures and regions into global as problem/nature-based evolution of culture and technology
Buttimer 1993	appropriate scales	collision of social equity, economic growth and ecological sustainability/local constructions of meaning must play role in policy formation
Bowers 1995	sustainable education	outlines cultural responses to environmental problems/ need to problematize technology and progress as iconic metaphors
Prakash 1995	postmodern ecology	anti-local, -woman, -culture, -nature character of modernist ecological expertise/relocation of choice- and decision-making in local sites, peoples

Note: for further elaboration of texts, see Nicholson-Goodman (1996), Globalization, the *New World Order & Local Imperatives: Mapping Our Way Towards a Sustainable Dialogue on Environment.* Paper presented at Comparative and International Education Society Annual Meeting, March 6-10; Williamsburg, VA.

Figure 13 (continued). The seventeen perspectives that create the intertextual field/reality.

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and identity in a time of fantastic complexity and intermingling. We observe that in comparative education discourse at least, the three scopic regimes of modernity continue to differentiate and prosper despite postmodern prognostications to the contrary. And with the timely emergence of postmodern fields of figuration, we have for the first time a scopic regime, open to all ways of seeing, yet privileging none. This social cartography perspective provides a new methodology better able to reinscribe and pattern our increasingly ironic understanding of reality. As some recent work in quantum mechanics suggests, science in the future will be increasingly probabilistic and speculative--in other words, ironic.[23] If, as this paper suggests, reality is best seen as a "participatory" phenomenon, defined in some sense by the questions we put to it, then the scopic regime of postmodernity will be a useful comparative tool/theory for our indeterminate time[24].

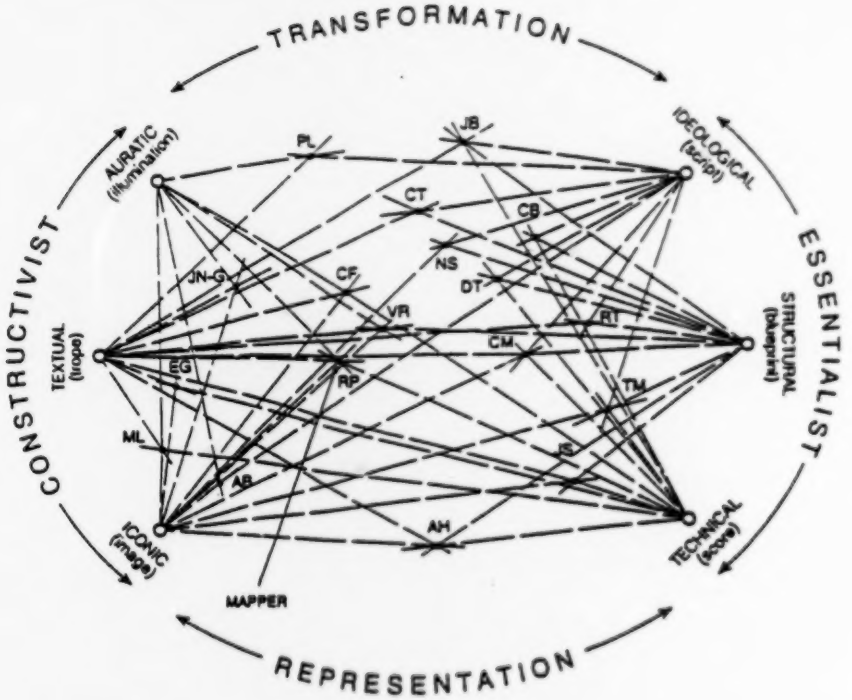

Figure 14. A "Nomadic" intertextual mapping of *Social Cartography* in the style of G. Deleuze and F. Guattari. R. G. Paulston, "Envoi" in *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change*, R. G. Paulston, ed. (New York: Garland, 1996), p. 439. Initials correspond to authors of chapters in the text. Each chapter is mapped into a space that both accepts and interrelates different ways of seeing and being, while privileging none.

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Figure 15. A two-dimensional map showing the relative locations of the 35 Specialty Groups in the Association of American Geographers in 1984, according to their cross-memberships. Source: M. F. Goodchild and D. F. Janelle, "Specialization in the Structure and Organization of Geography." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 78 (1988), p. 13.

NOTES

1. M. Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity," in *Vision and Visuality*, ed., Hal Foster (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1988), pp. 3-28.

2. See J.-F. Lyotard, *Driftworks* (New York: Semiotext(e): 1984), p. 80; and M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, Trans. C. Smith (London: Routledge, 1986). Paul Virilio argues the need to historicize visual culture so that we may begin to address "...the technological fundamentalism that has raged for two centuries." See his "Critical Reflections" in *Artforum* 34 (Nov., 1995), pp. 82-83, 112.

3. J. Wright, *Collected Poems, 1942-1985*, (North Ryde, Australia: Angus and Robertson, 1994), p. 30.

4. F. Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 92.

5. A. Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 10-11.

6. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 12. See also the perceptive review by Valerie Holman, "Visual Impact: Three Books On the Interaction of Text and Image," *Art History* 18(6) (December, 1995), pp. 595-598. Holman contends that "there is an increasing dominance of the visual over the verbal . . . in representations and theories that have originated in the late twentieth century" (p. 595).

7. M. Jay, p. 13.

8. See R. Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

9. For an insightful discussion of Marx's great suspicion of including visual texts in his iconoclastic rhetoric and ideological criticism see W. J. T. Mitchell, "The Rhetoric of Iconoclasm: Marxism, Ideology and Fetishism" in his *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

10. See R. Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985), pp. 86-87.

11. J. B. Harley. "Maps, Knowledge and Power," in *The Iconography of Landscape*, eds. D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 277-312. G. Huggan, "Decolonizing the Map: Post-Colonialism, Post-Structuralism and the Cartographic Connection." *Ariel* 20 (December 1989): 115-131. E. Soja. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. (London: Verso, 1989). P. Bourdieu. "Social and Symbolic Power." *Sociological Theory*, 7 (1989): 14-25; J.-F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

12. See G. Anzaldúa. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute); C. T. Mohanty. "Cartographies of Struggle" in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, eds. C. T. Mohanty, et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991, pp. 1-49; A. Rich. "Notes Towards a Politics of Location" in *Blood, Bread and Poetry* (New York: Norton, 1986).

13. G. Bateson. *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity* (New York: Dutton, 1979), p. 2.

14. K. E. Weick. "Cartographic Myths in Organizations," in *Mapping Strategic Thought*, ed. A. S. Huff (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 1990), p. 2.

15. K. M. Kirby. *Indifferent Boundaries: Spatial Concepts of Human Subjectivity*. (New York: Guilford, 1996), p. 21. See also P. Yaeger, *The Geography of Identity*. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996). Yaeger argues that we are in the midst of a redefinition of space that requires contradictory mappings of global, local and individual space, that constructs "a series of improbable maps with the power to apprehend the strange effects of ordinary space and to remedy the geometry of forgetting" (p. 31).

16. E. Soja and B. Hooper. "The Spaces That Difference Makes: Some Notes on the Geographical Margins of the Cultural Politics," in *Place and the Politics of Identity*, eds. M. Keith and S. Pile (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 184.

17. V. Masemann, "Ways of Knowing: Implications for Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, 34 (1990); pp. 465-473. See also R. Lawson's prescient presidential address, "Free-Form Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, 19 (October, 1977), pp. 345-353.

18. N. Davies, "The Misunderstood Victory in Europe" *The New York Review of Books*, 43 (1995): pp. 11-14.

19. T. S. Siebers, "What Does Postmodernism Want? Utopia" in *Heterotopia: Postmodern Utopia and the Body Politic* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp. 8 and 23.

20. For a highly original analysis comparing arguments (largely from S. Sontag and J.-F. Lyotard) that modernity favors a "discursive" sensibility giving priority to words over images while postmodern sensibility gives priority to the "figural," see S. Lash, "Discourse or Figure ? Postmodernism as a Regime of Signification," *Theory, Culture and Society, 5* (1988), pp. 311-336.

21. A. R. Stone, *The War of Desire and Technology at the Close of the Mechanical Age* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), p. 91. Lather uses a "rhizome" approach to enter the interstices of a text and probe its gaps, complexity, paradox, webbing--in sum, its conversation. Rhizomes as metaphors produce paradoxical objects. They are about the move from hierarchies to networks of tangled ideas uprooted from epistemological fields. "Rather than a linear progress, rhizomatics is a journey among intersections, nodes, and regionalizations, through a multicentered complexity. As a metaphor, rhizomes work against constraints of authority, regularity and . . . open though to creative constructions" (p. 680). See P. Lather. "Fertile Obsession: Validity After Poststructuralism." *The Sociological Quarterly* 34 (1993): pp. 673-693.

22. Stone, p. 41.

23. See J. Horgan. *The End of Science: Facing the Limits of Knowledge in the Twilight of the Scientific Age*. (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1996), or the summary version in J. Horgan, "Science Set Free From Truth: Thinking the Unknowable. Physicists, Too, Are Seduced By Postmodernism." *The New York Times*, July 16, 1996, p. A11. Horgan is a senior writer at the *Scientific American*.

24. In this regard, Homi Bhabha suggests that "...in some ways ...to visualize, to make specular [is] a certain kind of theoretical position." See his chapter with Victor Burgin, "Visualizing Theory" in *Visualizing Theory: Seleced Essays from V.A.R. 1990-1994*, ed., L. Taylor (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 460.

Author Note

Rolland G. Paulston is Professor of Administrative and Policy Studies at the University of Pittsburgh and a past president of the Comparative and International Education Society. His current research uses poststructuralist/postmodern perspectives to map/visualize the space of ideas in educational and social discourse. Correspondence to Rolland Paulston, School of Education, FQ 5T16, University of Pittsburgh, PA 15260, or e-mail: maryjane@fs1.sched.pitt.edu.

University of Pittsburgh

Research**review** Autumn 1996

The Social Cartography Project in Pitt's School of Education

Maps — they pattern abstractions and can help us find our way. And just as a geographic map can show all the routes available, so too, do the social maps in Professor Rolland Paulston's new book show the way through a maze of varying viewpoints in educational policy studies to create a better understanding of relations between divergent theories, discourse communities, and social groups.

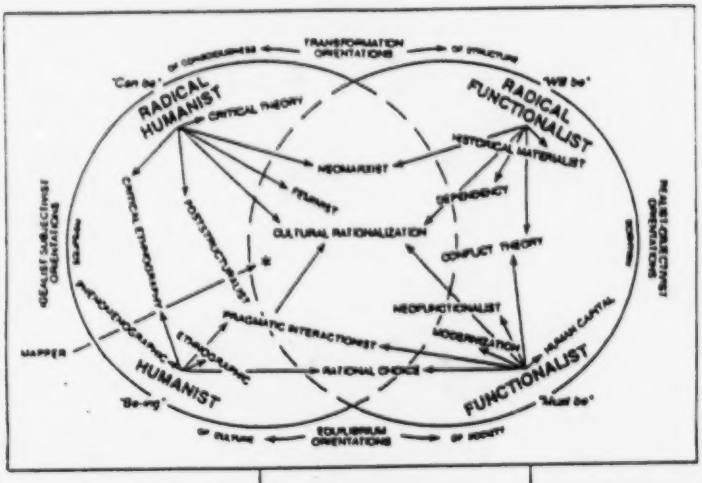
"Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change" (Garland Publishers, 1996), edited by Paulston of Pitt's School of Education Administrative and Policy Studies Department is a collection of 19 essays written by scholars who are both advocates and critics of social mapping. The book presents over 60 social maps with new ideas on spatial analysis and representation from social geography, cultural studies, educational policy studies, business, geographical information systems (GIS), among others.

"With mapping we are able to pattern all points of view," said Paulston. "Mapping is a visual presentation of differences. It is a practical way of coping with increased diversity. Today, everybody is either a mapper or a nostalgic!"

As Paulston explained in a recent project report, "This new mapping technique addresses questions of location and power in the social milieu by opening the dialogue among diverse social players and offering a new and effective method for visually demonstrating the many ways that individuals, groups and organizations view their worlds."

Paulston said that the social mapping project came up in 1992 when he was asked to write an encyclopedia article on paradigms and theories in comparative education. "What they wanted was a traditional review of how educational studies emulate science. But the more I got into it, the more I saw that there are many ways of seeing knowledge construction today. It used to be that educational research was largely experimental design and statistical analysis, but that has changed. What you have today not only in education, but in all the professional fields and also in the disciplines are once dominant theoretical perspectives slowly losing credibility and giving space to competing ways of seeing the world.

"We have all these different ways of seeing social relations and education, we now even have enormous complexity in terms of how people understand reality. How are we to cope with this growing diversity?" Paulston explained that with Social Cartography everybody has a chance for a visual voice, for space on the map. "Social Cartography allows you to identify all assumptions, to situate them in a field/map and pattern them," said Paulston. "With such maps we can better see the similarities and differences and, perhaps, where perspectives overlap or come together. Maps don't reconcile differences, they merely pattern them and suggest possible lines of movement." Paulston summed it up, "Social Cartography is simply a recognition of diverse ideas; it opens space to all views, privileges none, and problematizes all. It is offered as a useful new comparative research tool for our time." •



One of more than 60 maps in *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change.*

This Issue

2 New Sounds

3 Space Shuttle Sleep Research

4 Biological Research Efforts

5 Information Science

6 Investing in Children

7 Social Cartography

8 Gene Therapy for Arthritis

9 Politically Speaking

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MAPPING MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES: RESEARCH REPORTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH SOCIAL CARTOGRAPHY PROJECT, 1993-1996

Rolland G. Paulston, Martin Liebman and JoVictoria Nicholson-Goodman

This compilation of six research reports makes available in one place a good bit of the intellectual yield of the APS Conceptual Mapping Project. Since its inception in 1993, the Project has provided new knowledge about ways of patterning perceptual fields. While our efforts to conceptualize and map difference are perhaps best described as exploratory, we suggest that they offer both scholars and practitioners a useful new tool for comparative analysis.

The reports reproduced here (232 pp. paper) originally appeared in the Occasional Paper Series of Pitt's Department of Administrative and Policy Studies. They are presented in order of their chronological appearance, i.e.,

No. 1. *Mapping Knowledge Perspectives in Studies of Social and Educational Change*, June, 1993 (R. G. Paulston)

No. 2 *The Promise of a Critical Postmodern Cartography*, August, 1993 (R. G. Paulston and M. Liebman)

No. 3 *Social Cartography: A New Methodology for Comparative Studies*, September, 1993 (M. Liebman and R. G. Paulston)

No. 4 *Mapping and Remapping Discourse in Educational Policy Studies*, June, 1996 (J. V. Nicholson-Goodman and R. G. Paulston)

No. 5 *Postmodernity's Influence in Comparative Education Theory and Debate*, July, 1996 (M. Liebman

No. 6 *Mapping Visual Culture in Comparative Education Discourse*. August, 1996 (R. G. Paulston)

Correspondence concerning this Project, its rationale, activities, and outcomes is invited. We would also very much like to hear about related social mapping work in other fields. E-mail comments, critiques or queries may be directed to me at mjalm+@pitt.edu. Copies are available from APS @ $10.00. Make cheques to "The University of Pittsburgh" in U.S. funds only. Mailing address is Social Cartography Project, 5T16 Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

The interested reader may also wish to consult the more comprehensive international account of our mapping project available in R. G. Paulston (Ed.), *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change*. (New York: Garland Publishers, 1996). Forthcoming, late 1996 with nineteen chapter contributors and over sixty social maps. To order, phone 1-800-627-6273..

Department of Administrative and Policy Studies (APS)
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

SOCIAL CARTOGRAPHY

Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change

Edited by Rolland G. Paulston
University of Pittsburgh

From both modern and postmodern viewpoints, leading scholars demonstrate how the creation of cognitive, intertextual, theoretical, and topological maps provide a timely new comparative methodology. Nineteen original essays by leading advocates and critics of social mapping are presented in four sections. Mapping Imagination examines ideas supporting the spatial turn in cultural geography social history and comparative education; Mapping Perspectives examines how the application of spatial ideas and techniques have advanced mapping practice in education and the human sciences, in Geographical Information Systems and in planning and business studies. Mapping Pragmatics provides six case studies that facilitate a spatial understanding of power relations and transitions. In Mapping Debates, the book's thesis is assessed from diverse perspectives.

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- From modern to postmodern ways of seeing social and educational change, *Val D. Rust*
- Constructing knowledge spaces and locating sites of resistance in the modern cartographic transformation, *David Turnbull*
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(over)

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